

THE BIRKBECK
EARLY MODERN
SOCIETY
BULLETIN

Issue 17
Winter 2010



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MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Early Modernists,

Welcome to the seventeenth edition of our Bulletin. We've had a busy autumn term in which we have heard papers from Marcus Dahl, Andy Hopper, and our big Christmas event at which the speaker was David Starkey.

We are looking forward to the spring term when Frances Harris will speak to us about Sir Robert Moray and His Anglo-Scottish Networks at the Stuart Courts, Helen Pierce will talk about political Playing Cards and the Iconography of Gambling during the English Restoration, and William Doyle will discuss Revolutionary Napoleon?

We will also plan trips to museums and galleries, and the Globe Theatre, so if you would like to propose a trip with an Early Modern theme then please let either Laura Jacobs or myself know your suggestion. Our annual students' conference will take place in the summer, probably July, so watch this space for news of its theme.

I hope you all have an enjoyable Christmas and New Year, or holiday break, and look forward to seeing you at our January event.

With best wishes,

Stephen Brogan

President, Birkbeck Early Modern Society

<http://www.bbk.ac.uk/hca/current/societies/#earlymodern>

<http://www.emintelligencer.org.uk/>

THE BULLETIN: EDITOR'S WELCOME

Welcome to Issue Seventeen of the *Birkbeck Early Modern Society Bulletin*. As I write this, Christmas is almost upon us and our thoughts begin to focus upon what we have in store over the festive period. Food is obviously central to the modern Christmas, as it was back in the Early Modern period. Mince pies are consumed in huge numbers during December and they have their origins in medieval times when they contained cinnamon, cloves and nutmeg, with the three spices symbolising the three gifts brought by the Magi. It was supposed to be lucky to eat one mince pie on each of the twelve days of Christmas; a practice that many of us still follow even if it is no longer for religious reasons!

The *Bulletin* once again lives up to its reputation for providing members with a wide range of interesting and entertaining articles and features. In a slight departure from the norm the 'visits', 'concert', and 'opera' sections all come from Vienna where I spent a wonderful long weekend in November.

As we are about to enter another year it is time to reflect upon past events and look forward to new experiences. 2011 will be my final year as editor of the *Bulletin*, with just three more editions, Spring, Summer and Autumn, before I hand over the publication to my successor. I have enjoyed the process of starting the publication from scratch and building it up into a fifty-plus-page publication but by this time next year it will be the right time for someone else to take up the reins. However, with a full year to go before this happens there are still plenty of historical things for me to write about. May I wish you all a very happy Christmas and a healthy, prosperous and joyful 2011. The next issue will be out in the Spring of 2011.

John Croxon

Editor

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RECENT EVENTS

THE ROLE OF TREACHERY AND TURNCOATS IN SHAPING MILITARY AND POLITICAL STRATEGIES DURING THE CIVIL WARS

DR. ANDREW HOPPER



On a cold November evening in London Dr Andrew Hopper addressed the Birkbeck Early Modern Society on the fascinating subject of the role of treachery and turncoats in shaping military and political strategies during the civil wars.

Dr. Hopper apologized for the rather cumbersome title that will be rectified in a forthcoming book to be called 'Turncoats and Renegadoes'. He was particularly interested in self-fashioning by these people and in how they presented themselves in the media. In his lecture he concentrated on the hopes and expectations of both sides in subverting opponents especially in the first Civil War. On the Royalist side those hoping to gain the advantage by these means were the King, Rupert, Newcastle and Digby and, on the Parliamentary side, Essex, the regional committees and the generals. Much previous writing has concentrated on organization and generalship whereas treachery was a major factor in the outcome. This approach to the Civil Wars had been anticipated by at least two earlier significant writers.

Both sides attributed victory to Providence, but defeat was harder to explain. Treachery was often blamed and used as a tool in factional struggles. There was much controversy over the treatment of turncoats, especially double turncoats. Although against the articles of war promulgated by both sides, there was massive correspondence with members of the opposing party. The Royalists in particular had great hopes of gaining the advantage through treachery by some of their enemies. Their hopes and endeavours were focused on places in the West and North, especially the major fortified towns of Gloucester, Hull and Plymouth.

Failure by the King's party to take Gloucester has long been seen as a turning point. The siege was pursued rather than a march on the capital. Massey, the military governor, it was hoped would switch sides. This was a not unreasonable expectation as he had initially offered his services to Charles I but had been denied his preferred appointment. Massey may well have been playing a double game if only to ensure his personal safety if the town fell. There were executions within the city during the siege while doubts about Massey's loyalty to the Parliamentary cause persisted even after the threat was over.

Hull is another interesting case. During 1642 there were several attempts to take the town by treachery. Charles was persuaded to appear in person before Hull having been lead to believe that his presence would be decisive in the absence of adequate siege equipment. Hull had a major arsenal, so denying its use to the Royalists may well have been decisive at the Battle of Edgehill. Correspondence between the Royalist Newcastle and the Parliamentary commander in Hull, Hogan, about to be published, deals the best way to change sides. Hogan was arrested and a committee set up to investigate matters which then arrested one of its own members. Plymouth like Gloucester and Hull had some of the strongest fortifications in England. It was subjected to five sieges and to intermittent blockade while continuous plots were hatched from within and without.

The three failures may have lost the King the war and it must be asked why such high hopes were placed on encouraging treachery. Charles didn't have the resources to take a city. He did gain Bristol by assault but at such horrendous cost that this method could not be used again. There were also significant Cavalier failures at Nottingham

and Aylesbury. There are later instances of written inducements being sent by those who received them as an act of self-defence to Parliament, and of these documents being published. Publication was also a way for the recipients to advertise their apparent importance.

On the King's side there was an assumption that someone who was not a proper gentleman was more likely to be corruptible especially by money. From 1644 Parliament began to take steps to keep its people loyal and at the same time had some notable successes against its enemy. Shrewsbury fell to them in suspicious circumstances. The two "successful" commanders published vague and incompatible accounts of what had happened. The taking of Hereford was also suspect, being described as "very craftily taken". There were generous terms for the Royalist commanders. On the other hand Sir Thomas Fairfax was to besiege Oxford when he might have pursued the King. He acted on intelligence from the Earl of Sussex. Victory followed when Fairfax was relieved of command.

The Solemn League and Covenant actually uses words like "treachery". Wartime covenants imposed by the Parliamentary side tended to be more severe than Royalist equivalents and bound people together more closely than Cavalier compacts. For instance the Solemn League mentioned specific policies such as the adoption of Presbyterianism. However Sir Edward Deny complained that he had sworn to the Covenant three times and was still not believed. Execution was a possible punishment for betrayal of the Covenant.

According to all the commanders the outcome of the three most important battles in Yorkshire was determined by treachery. Essex's officers were held for several months without charge though none were responsible for the failure in the West Country. This infighting appears to have inspired a more efficient army. On the other side the King was worried about the reliability of Prince Rupert and the visiting Elector Palatine. Rupert demanded a court martial over the surrender of Bristol as did other officers over setbacks for which they were responsible. By 1645 premature surrenders by Royalists were a significant problem. Clarendon believed the cause was lost too quickly after Naseby while the play "The Old Troup" was about the collapse of Theivesden.

A rare Royalist success story this late in the war occurred when Sir Richard Grenville came over with Parliament's campaign plan for 1644. Many Parliamentarians continued to sit in the legislature after undistinguished military careers. On the Royalist side a unique problem was that all doubts about loyalty were ultimately judged by the King. Rupert's direct assaults can be contrasted with Digby's method of fomenting treachery. With hindsight a degree of over simplification set in. Clarendon, for instance, would claim retrospectively that every instance of changing sides was dishonourable.

As the long conflict reached its climax in the Second Civil War there were more attempts than ever to bring about defections. Steadfast Parliamentarians were radicalised and became vindictive. There was a real concern that loyalties could not be maintained in a third war. A major factor in the decision to kill the king was that Parliamentarians themselves would remain at risk if he lived.

The question and answer session clarified a number of issues. General Monk, who had not immediately joined the side of Parliament, and had in fact spent time in prison, is perhaps the most interesting turncoat of all, and in the chaos of the final stages of the Protectoral regime was the main instigator of the Restoration. The King was, in a sense, to Royalists unable to be disloyal, but many of them were deeply unhappy about the calling in of a Scottish army. At the trial of Charles I his accusers expanded treason to encompass violations of the contract implicit in the coronation oath. Disloyalty provoked disloyalty. In towns there were many instances of coups against military governors suspected of treachery. Tension between town councils and military governors was endemic. Later on, governors were appointed from outside the locality. On the whole Parliament was better at harnessing local concerns. At Hull only the Hutchinsons, father and son, were executed. The Hutchinsons were very influential in the region and were related to half the county. The Parliamentary Earl of Denbigh was intermittently under arrest because of the pressure on him by his Royalist mother.

Clarendon, Vickers and Prynne would all claim in print that turncoats always got their comeuppance. One group, however, who could change sides with impunity in some circumstances, were captured common soldiers. There were no facilities for long-term detention of prisoners of war. Therefore soldiers might be asked to swear to become

non-combatants but they might, alternatively, be persuaded to change sides. Higher up there are instances of defections with the payroll. The cavalry were particularly prone to switch sides as they were billeted over a wide area for fodder and could not be closely watched. Often an officer would change sides and take most of his troop with him. In one instance a detachment of Cavalry travelled most of the length of England to join their new comrades in Scotland thanks to a safe conduct forged by their leader.

We would like to thank Dr Hopper for a highly interesting and entertaining talk on an absorbing topic during a fascinating period of English history.

Timothy Alves

English Royal Ritual and the Reformation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Dr David Starkey



For our Christmas event this year the Birkbeck Early Modern Society played host to Dr David Starkey, probably Britain's most famous historian. Our largest audience of over one hundred people witnessed a tour-de-force lecture on 'English Royal Ritual and the Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' by the combative historian who began his lecture by outlying his support for an increase in tuition fees.

Dr Starkey began by mentioning that there is little discussion concerning court ritual because of the current focus upon theology. Dr Starkey stressed that the English Reformation was clearly a top-down process, shaped from the top by Henry VIII and his desire to remarry.

Henry had been a model Catholic monarch and had been the only European monarch who had argued against Luther. The Protestant movement was largely a Cambridge phenomenon with just a few men instrumental in arguing for change. However, they wrote in medieval Latin and their arguments were largely confined to the university and therefore had no relevance and no influence upon the outside world. Dr Starkey made the point that there was no independent origin for the Reformation. At the centre of the religious changes was the royal supremacy; from Henry VIII onwards through to William III, English monarchs felt it was their right to make religious changes. The exception was James I. In Scotland, James had sat amongst the congregation and heard himself described as a silly man but at Westminster he was sat on high above the congregation and above the preacher. James then set about subtly changing Scottish religious practices. Dr Starkey emphasised that religion really mattered then and illustrated this point with the tale of how Cranmer was burnt to death as a heretic at Oxford and of the fortitude and religious zeal shown by the archbishop during the agony of the flames.

Dr Starkey described the Tudor period as celebrity culture with fame as the touchstone and with Henry's entire reign as a series of quests for glory. Dr Starkey compared Henry VIII with Tony Blair in their approach to politics, religion and the public. Dr Starkey said that sixteenth-century art was largely a 'verbal' art and he cited two of Holbein's famous portraits of Henry VIII; one of the king standing proud staring straight at the viewer and the other of Henry with Jane Seymour and his parents behind him, stating that Henry VII achieved much but Henry VIII achieved

more with his actions on religion and his break with Rome. Henry saw himself as Supreme Head of the Church of England directly under Christ. Only to Henry is the Bible given by God and it is Henry who then hands it down, Henry is the mediator between God and the people in a national church. From Henry onwards until the Hanoverian accession all monarchs felt that it was their direct responsibility to control and direct religion.

All English royal ritual is religious with royal dress governed by the principal feasts of the church and crown-wearing took place at Epiphany with a reference to the Magi, and with no evidence for Henry wearing his crown at any other occasion. The royal ritual of washing feet a direct reference to Jesus, and the healing of the Kings Evil, scrofula, was a highly symbolic ritual. With these rituals the king was outperforming the priests.



Dr David Starkey and Professor Frank Trentmann

The coronation of the fiercely Protestant Edward VI was completely different to others with Crammer actually apologising for the process explaining that the king has already been blessed by God and so does not require the normal coronation anointing. With Mary it was back to a Catholic service and under Elizabeth, a convinced Protestant but also a confirmed ceremonist, the entire ceremony was retained except for the Mass, keeping the royal symbolism intact. In the weekly services there were large numbers of churchmen present but all the symbolism is from the monarch with kings placed above angels.

The religious and constitutional settlement of 1688 brought a change in English history. The removal of the Catholic James II for the Protestant William of Orange demonstrated that the monarch must now be of the same religion as the people and William described the coronation as popish rubbish. With the accession of the Hanoverians under George I court ritual ceases to be religious as the monarch refuses to participate, seeing high church as Jacobite, and George would not countenance the Tories and their high church religion and politics.

Following his talk Dr Starkey answered all questions with detailed and considerate answers. This was an interesting, stimulating and thought-provoking lecture leaving people with plenty to talk about in the informal gathering that followed. This was a marvellous and highly successful evening and the Birkbeck Early Modern Society would like to thank Dr Starkey for such a lively, erudite and highly entertaining talk.

John Croxon.

VISITS

Schonbrunn Palace

Vienna, Austria



In medieval times the site belonged to the monastery at Klosterneuburg but in 1569 the estate and its manor house came into the ownership of the Habsburgs through Maximilian II. It was under a successor, Ferdinand II, that the site became a venue for royal hunting parties and after Ferdinand's death the estate became his widow, Eleonora's, dower residence and it was she who had a palace built on the site in 1642, which became known as Schonbrunn. In 1683 Schonbrunn was subject to the same devastation visited upon the area by the invading Turks and in 1686 Leopold I decided to build a magnificent new palace. He commissioned the architect Johann Bernard Fischer to design a palatial hunting lodge and by the spring of 1700 the central wing of the palace had been completed. However, the costly War of the Spanish Succession meant that building work stopped and it was not until the residence of Maria Theresa in the following century that the palace that we know today was constructed, with the laying out of the gardens following in the 1770's. The Habsburg dynasty owned a number of palaces in Vienna and at the beginning of the nineteenth century Emperor Franz II/I used Schonbrunn as his summer residence. Following the end of the monarchy the palace, park and garden were transferred to the Republic.

Schonbrunn is a huge palace and it would be impossible to describe adequately all of its rooms. I will therefore describe just a few and try to provide a flavour of the magnificence of the building.

West Wing

The Billiard Room is the first room in the suite of audience chambers and private residential quarters of Emperor Franz Joseph I, and the furnishing and decoration conveys a sense of the professional and private aspects of his life. The paintings are on the grand scale and show major historic events in court life in the mid-eighteenth century.



The Walnut Room

The Walnut Room served Franz Joseph as an audience chamber and where he gave countless audiences to ministers, court officials, government leaders and numerous numbers of his subjects. Its name derives from the beautiful walnut panelling on the walls dating from the 1760's. The individual panels are framed with gilded moulding and decorated with gilt rocaille.

Proceeding through to the apartments of the Empress Elizabeth one comes across the Empress's Salon which has white and gold panelling, pale silk wall hangings and neo-rococo furniture. The clock in front of the mirror has a mirror-image face on the back so that the time could be seen in the mirror. The room has some notable painting including one of Marie Antoinette in a fashionable hunting costume by Joseph Kranzinger.

The Yellow Salon contains original furniture from the time of Marie Theresa including a Louis Seize secretaire made by the renowned cabinet maker Adam Weisweiler.



The Mirrors Room

The Mirrors Room, with its stunning white and gold decoration and crystal mirrors, was used as a state room. It was probably in this room that the six-year-old Mozart performed on the harpsichord for the empress and afterwards reputedly “sprung onto her lap, flung his arms round her neck and planted a firm kiss on her cheek”.

Central Wing

The Great Gallery, with a length of forty-three metres and width of ten metres, provided the perfect setting for court festivities and it was here that balls and grand receptions were held. Featuring white and gold stucco decoration, tall crystal glass mirrors, and magnificent ceiling frescos this incredible room was created in about 1760. The whole effect is stunningly beautiful.

The Carousel Room served as a waiting room for those seeking an audience with Marie Theresa. It takes its name from one of the paintings which decorate the room. It shows the Lady's Carriage Parade, or Carousel, which took place at the Winter Riding School of the Hofburg in 1746, which was organised to celebrate the withdrawal from Bohemia of the French forces that had threatened the Austrian Empire.

The adjoining Hall of Ceremonies was used as an antechamber and as a festival hall for family occasions. The duration includes some wonderful rocaille work, enhanced by three dimensional ornamentation on the vaulting. It is though the series of monumental paintings that dominate the room; representing a socio-political and family event with the marriage of Joseph, heir to the throne, to Isabella of Parma in 1736.

East Wing



The Blue Chinese Salon

The Blue Chinese Salon has walnut panelling largely covered by Chinese rice-paper wall hangings. Dating from the eighteenth century these wall hangings are exquisite and the light from the chandeliers beautifully illuminate the scenes depicted on the hangings. Executed in black China ink and bronze paint, the scenes illustrate four Chinese important activities; silkworm breeding and silk production, rice growing, the manufacture of porcelain and the cultivation of tea.

The Napoleon Room was used by Napoleon as his bedroom on the two occasions that he occupied Vienna. He married Marie Louise, the daughter of Emperor Franz II/I. The room contains a bust of their son, Napoleon Franz, who died from consumption at the age of twenty-one.



The Study of Archduchess Sophie

The room known as the Study of Archduchess Sophie was furnished for Franz Joseph's mother. The room is elegant and highly decorated in the neo-Rococo style and contains family portraits and mementoes.



The Reiches Zimmer

The Reiches Zimmer (rich room) was where Franz Joseph was born. It contains the only surviving bed of state from the Viennese court. Made of red velvet with precious gold and silver embroidery it is highly sumptuous and ornate, and in order to protect the delicate and expensive textiles it is displayed within a glass showcase.

Ground Floor

The Gross Apartments consist of four rooms with a variety of murals, some depicting exotic landscapes with topical vegetation teeming with exotic water birds, and others displaying formal Baroque gardens, emphasising man's mastery of nature.

The Gardens

Visiting in November it was obviously out of season but the vast gardens still hint at the organized beauty of the landscape. Schonbrunn boasts a parterre, a maze, fountains and a palm house.

Schonbrunn is an amazing, awe-inspiring place that radiates the sheer affluence of the Habsburgs. The palace is so large and so sumptuous that I could have chosen a completely different set of rooms to describe. Vienna is a delightful city and if you holiday there do visit the palaces and definitely visit Schonbrunn, it is a real delight.

John Croxon

ARTS REPORT



CONCERT

Concert in Mozart House, Vienna, Austria

The Mozart Ensemble



The venue for the concert was Mozart House, an impressive eighteenth-century building, housing on the ground floor a church at the front and an auditorium at the rear, while behind the building there is a lovely courtyard. The auditorium is the oldest concert hall in Vienna where Mozart used to work and play for Bishop Colloredo in 1781, and Mozart also lived for a short time in an apartment in this house from March to May in the same year.

The 'Sala Terrena' is a wonderful baroque jewel that was designed and painted in the second half of the eighteenth century in late-Renaissance Venetian style. It boasts a magnificent vaulted ceiling and the walls and ceiling are decorated with grotesque scenes, scenes of baroque sensuality, floral paintings, animal scenes and beautiful frescos.

The 'Mozart Ensemble, Wien' play in the tradition of the Viennese classical period. The repertoire includes works of Haydn, Schubert and especially, as on the evening that we saw them, Mozart. The ensemble consists of four experienced musicians of the Vienna chamber music, they are Claudio Bentes (violin), Judith Nemeth (violin), Gusztav Nemeth (viola) and Alison Frilingos (cello). For this concert sixty chairs were arranged in rows facing a dais pressed up against the wall opposite the windows and we were lucky enough to occupy the front row.

The quartet played five pieces and encoored with another, in between there was one interval. It began with Mozart's '*Divertimento in D Major KV 136*' which is the first of a group of works collectively known as the 'Salzburg' symphonies. These works stand apart from Mozart's remaining symphonies, in that they are set for strings alone, rather than for the otherwise customary mixed instrumentation including wind instruments. Written when Mozart was only sixteen, this energetic chamber work for strings, in the capable hands of the Mozart Ensemble, bubbles over with life. The work consists of a lively opening Allegro, in simple sonata form, featuring effervescent runs and turns in the strings, a charming central Andante, with its elegantly tapered phrasing, provided a restful contrast to the playful spiccato opening of the third movement which brought a brilliant concluding Presto. The brilliant inventiveness and virtuosity of the D major Divertimento is stunningly evoked by the quartet. This was Mozart as it ought to be played, and was a real delight from beginning to end.

The quartet then played the Lento from Dvorak's '*Aus dem Amerikanischen Quartett*'. The intimate and lovely playing of this piece was a delight. First the violin, followed by the cello and then the piece unfolds into a duet wonderfully played. The performance was almost mesmerising and quite enchanting.

With Mozart's '*Quartet in d-Dur KV 155*' the quartet gave us a performance that was marked by understated virtuosity. The strings performed with a shimmering uniformity of tone and their playing captured the expressiveness and lyricism of the music with well-defined balance and delicately crafted phrasings. The quartet played with a profound sincerity that brought out its emotional depth wonderfully in poetic and heartfelt interpretation.

Mozart's '*Divertimento in B-Dur/Major KV 137*' began leisurely. Yet beneath its graceful measures, tension built for the exuberant second movement, with its wealth of thematic development.

The Ensemble then played Haydn's '*Quartett in d-moll/minor op. 76/2 Quinten/fiftha Quartett*'. Joseph Haydn's string quartets, Op. 76, were composed in 1796 and 1797, and were commissioned by Count Joseph Erdoedy. These pieces are among Haydn's most ambitious and sophisticated works, with the fifths in the title a reference to the perfectly well attuned fifths in the first movement at the beginning of the quartet. The minuet in Haydn's Opus 76/2 became known as the *Witch Minuet* because of its supposedly bewitching quality.

The performance by the Mozart Ensemble was certainly bewitching; emphasizing thematic continuity and seamlessly moving between the instruments, producing great depths of melody, independence of parts, and command of texture. The members of the Mozart Ensemble play with remarkable intensity producing stunning and elegant sounds. Intonation is magnificently clean, as are other aspects of their technical execution. Musically, the four members play as one entity as presumably Haydn envisioned.

When the quartet left the stage the applause was immediate and thunderous, persuading the four players to return for an encore. They played the Allegro vivace assai from Mozart's '*Streichquartett in G-Dur KV 387*'. This first movement is in G major and contrasts fairly diatonic passages with chromatic runs. The main theme is light and graceful but the music has considerable expressive depth and the Mozart Ensemble brings this out quite brilliantly. The delightful reprise that closes this joyful and masterful movement was performed with great finesse by the Ensemble.

The foursome, with Bentes as first violinist, displayed amazing chemistry as an ensemble as they explored this glorious music. They played with conviction and brought real insight into the music and the standing ovation that greeted the end of the performance was both heartfelt and resounding.

With a superb quartet such as the Mozart Ensemble, it is clearly evident why so many composers, particularly from the late-eighteenth century onwards, wrote so prolifically for the string quartet. When performed well, as here, a piece of quartet music is so effective because it attains a level of intimacy that entices the listener, with each instrument being heard distinctively and as an integral part of the ensemble. There is also a sense of delicacy to the music, a vulnerability that is extremely beautiful.

This was a truly superb concert; the Sala Terrena, with its wonderful acoustics and incomparable atmosphere, offers the perfect venue for the music of the Viennese classical period, while the Mozart Ensemble is the perfect ensemble for this venue; their interpretations are academically informed, engaging, and capable of bringing all but the most stoic of listeners to the very edge of their seats, with subtle shadings of colour and finely honed ensemble playing. The Mozart Ensemble played with a real refined finesse and beauty that produced a really memorable performance.

John Croxon

OPERA
Alcina
George Fredrick Handel
Vienna Opera House



The beautiful baroque Vienna State Opera House was the setting for a wonderful new production of Handel's *Alcina*. It is an amazing fact that baroque opera was banned under the house's longest-serving director Ioan Holender, who stepped down at the end of the last season after eighteen years in control. Indeed, while 'Alcina', composed in 1735, is one of Handel's best-loved operas, it has never been performed before at Vienna's prestigious Opera House. Thus, the new staging, by British director Adrian Noble, represented an artistic revolution by the house's new director, Frenchman Dominique Meyer. All the more revolutionary was the fact that the State Opera's 'in-house' orchestra, the Vienna Philharmonic, was not in the pit, but instead the French period-instrument orchestra, Les Musiciens du Louvre-Grenoble, under their chief conductor Marc Minkowski. It is, in fact, the first time ever in the history of the Staatsoper that a guest ensemble has been in the pit.



For their new production, Minkowski and Noble have assembled a stellar cast of baroque specialists, including German soprano Anja Harteros in the title role, Bulgarian mezzo Vesselina Kasarova as Ruggiero and Argentinian soprano Veronica Cangemi as Morgana.

Noble places the action in the eighteenth century where Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, has invited friends and family to a private performance of *'Alcina'* in her ballroom. This simple, but illuminating idea allows the solo instrumentalists of the superb Les Musiciens du Louvre-Grenoble, who were also in costume dress, to accompany the singers on stage during their arias. The award-winning British designer Anthony Ward has been the inspired choice to design the sets and costumes and Ward does not disappoint with a series of visually stunning sets and costumes, which includes a hot-air balloon landing in the Duchess's ballroom and a huge field of vivid green, waist-high grass through which the performers walk.

Noble was served by some wonderful performances from the singers. Kristina Hammarstrom played a really convincing Bradamante, tastefully using her perfectly pitched mezzo with accuracy, charm and finesse.

With her rich and sumptuous voice, soprano Anja Harteros, was stunning as the sorceress Alcina who uses her supernatural powers to bewitch the knight Ruggiero and hold him captive as her lover. Harteros displays great versatility, from languid sensuousness to dramatic fury. Alcina is supposed to be evil, condemning her victims to live their lives as beasts, yet Handel presents Alcina as a tragic and sympathetic figure and in the closing scene of Act Two when Alcina discovers that she has lost her magical powers Harteros sings with quiet intensity that evokes a melancholic lament with incredible beauty.

Vesselina Kasarova as Ruggiero enjoyed some great moments including a rousing aria '*Sta nell'rcana*' that drew cheers from the audience. Her deep mezzo was immaculate and she projected the character of Ruggiero brilliantly, singing expressively and demonstrating her huge range, deploying a superb upper and lower voice.

Veronica Cangemi as Alcina's sister Morgana, gradually built a sympathetic and credible figure as the evening progressed and her rendition of '*Tomami a vagheggiar*' which closes Act One was wonderful.

Another great success was the young Shintaro Nakajima from the Vienna Boys Choir, who charmed the audience in the smaller role of Oberto, performing Handel's music with a marvellous directness.

Unusually for Handel, '*Alcina*' includes prominent dances, and in this production all the dances that Handel staged in his original opera are present, courtesy of Sue Lefton's stylish choreography.

The orchestra, under Minkowski's direction, was truly superb, playing Handel's great music with such style and panache, including some fine solo moments, and the opera flowed beautifully in perfect tempo.

This was a vivid and highly moving production of Handel's *Alcina*, wonderfully staged, beautifully sung, and brilliantly played and singers, orchestra, conductor and director all received tumultuous applause and numerous curtain-calls at the end of the four-hour performance.

John Croxon

ART EXHIBITION

SALVATOR ROSA

DULWICH

Salvator Rosa, 1615-73, was neither one of the founders of the Baroque nor a pupil of the founders and is therefore regarded as an interesting curiosity. However he was strongly influenced by Ribera who worked in Rosa's native city of Naples and who, though Spanish in origin, lived so long in his adopted city that he can be considered as an Italian. Rosa was not then among the great initiators of a new style and his reputation has also suffered from living too long into the period in which the artistic torch appeared to have passed from Italy to France, the Dutch and to Spain. He probably is best known from a few well known works in the world's leading collections, a couple of ambitious seascapes, more accurately seasidescapes, in the Palatine Gallery in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence (neither the Pitti painting was sent to this exhibition – cat. 13, 1645-9, from there is quite modest) and two intense portraits, one, ca. 1647, in the Met. in New York, (cat. 5) and the other, 1641, as a personification of Philosophy, in the National Gallery in London (cat. 2). He has come to be seen as a sort of Neo-Romantic who specialized in wild landscapes and genre scenes of witches and banditti, even once being believed to have gone through a banditto phase in his own life (cat. p. 185). A pair of Rosas, "Harbour with Ruins" and "Rocky Landscape with Waterfall", both ca. 1640-3, appeared in the overlapping RA exhibition Treasures from Budapest (RA cat. 102&3).



Harbour with Ruins

The exhibition and a very informative catalogue could have been expressly designed to correct the exaggerations about Rosa. The catalogue biography clears up the reasons for his period in Florence where his brother had gone (p. 17). Undoubtedly this Tuscan phase was the consequence of offending Bernini through his writing and acting, Rosa being a man of many talents. However, it was not solely the result of a complex series of events in Rome, but also of previous contacts with Florence. One is tempted to suggest the full story may never be fully unravelled and that the catalogue account must be far from comprehensive. The genre scenes and landscapes, both often very dark, align Rosa with developments in the North particularly in the United Netherlands. Though he never completely abandoned large-scale religious painting he sought out a series of esoteric historical and mythological subjects, so much so that one is reminded of the early Neo-Classical painters in the years before the French Revolution who discovered the obscurest episodes from Greco-Roman history to use as subjects. Rosa himself said “I have finished two pictures ... the subjects of which are entirely new and have never been represented by anyone”(cat. p. 206). One of these, despite the apparent iconography, instead of being a Christ by the Sea of Galilee, is actually a “Pythagoras and the Fishermen”, 1662, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (cat. fig. 50). Even in religious scenes, as we shall see, the obvious was often avoided while the religious and the mythological were conflated.



Pythagoras and the Fishermen

One of the strands of Rosa's work that has stood the test of time aside from the odd subject matter is landscape. As Horace Walpole put it "Precipices, mountains, wolves, torrents, rumbling – Salvador Rosa", quoted in the exhibition displays. In some senses it is a pity he did not live in Walpole's time in which the ultimate rumblings, pictures of Vesuvius erupting, became fashionable, though as we shall see there is a volcano painting of sorts involving Empedocles. Nevertheless Rosa underwent a very considerable evolution from the early "Coastal Landscape", ca. 1635-40, private collection (cat. 10). The arbitrariness and mechanical repetitiveness of the landscape foreground, as in this early "Coastal Landscape" recall the obvious fictions of the considerably earlier Joachim Patiner, recorded from 1515-1524, given some international recognition through being collected by Phillip II. Though restricted by foreground objects there is a hint of the wide horizons of Bruegel. The sheer artificiality also looks forward to Turner. From earlier conventional treatments Rosa developed a very advanced style. Even in the painting just mentioned he undermines the genre he seems to be following by introducing a significant subplot of dock labour all within a foreground shadow parallel with the picture plane that would be a device employed later by Canaletto, the subject of an overlapping exhibition at the National Gallery.

Later landscapes are far more credible. There are two natural bridges, such as Turner would place, doubled and in the sea, in "Ulysses Deriding Polyphemus", 1829, National Gallery, London, in one of two paintings from LACMA (Los Angeles County Museum of Art) both ca. 1655 (cat. 27a&b) and "Landscape with a Bridge", ca. 1645-9, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (cat. 12). In the latter the bridge, lopsided to fit the terrain and tumbledown, kept in service by a Heath Robinson repair job in wood on the upper side, is in striking contrast to the natural bridge. The latter is so solid that it can sustain a substantial fortification as in much earlier Farraraese backgrounds by the likes of Tura and Costa, but is very different from the rational rock formations of Poussin and Claude. In this instance Rosa may be contrasting the durability of the works of nature and the transience of those of Man. There is the natural equivalent of a multi-level motorway flyover in the RA Budapest exhibition's "Harbour with Ruins" (RA cat. 102). As with some of his earlier, inherited landscape conventions the occasional draped Rosa figure can appear to be a stock type as in the form of the hero in "Daniel in the Lions' Den", Musée Condé, Chantilly (cat. ill. 16),

not unlike a late Mannerist figures to which the early Baroque masters could revert in their less inspired moments.

Later he would develop his own repertoire, an important component of which is crossed lifeless tree trunks, snapped off or still in the ground. In “Landscape with St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul the Hermit”, ca. 1660-5, on long term loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (cat. 17b), one of a pair of paintings, the crossed trees are the real subject and the holy men a peripheral incident. The style in some cases and to some extent coincides with the subject. Rough horizontal trails of paint mark the transition from cloud to sky in the rustic “Landscape with Travellers”, ca. 1640, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (cat. 11). The almost hidden fluted column drum is a token classical reference in place of the more extensive allusions made by Poussin, a great influence on Rosa. The craggy rock faces in “Empedocles”, ca. 1665-70, private collection (cat. 34) unusually among Rosa landscape features, become almost abstract. The philosopher threw himself into Mount Etna to prove his divinity. Needless to say he failed in his objective unlike some of Rosa’s other pagan subjects who, like Pythagorus, take on divine or even Proto-Christian attributes. They do this through careful self-presentation or even deceit (see below). The wild landscapes with little figures, often biblical or mythological were a contribution to a convention that continued until Delacroix’s “Jacob Wrestling with the Angel”, 1861, Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

By choice Rosa seemingly gradually disentangled himself from patronage of the later and, by then, culturally less than cutting edge Medici to fend for himself (cat. pp. 23-4, 28). In his new position he became a master of medium or small-scale cabinet paintings. A number of his works are like blown up Elsheimers, recalling another artist fairly recently featured in a Dulwich exhibition. Again in this comparison the convergence of the North and Italy appears. The quite horrific “Prometheus”, 1638 (cat. fig. 46, Ferdinando Gregori, after Rosa), but not in the exhibition, can be compared, as the organizers do, to Ribera’s version of 1623, Prado, Madrid (cat. ill. 2), and to other quite restrained depictions of Prometheus and the similar subject of Tityus by Titain, Michelangelo and Rubens, but also to Rembrandt’s two anatomy paintings. The latter comprise not only the justly famous “Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp”, 1632, the Mauritshuis, the Hague, but the “Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Jan

Deyman”, ca. 1661-2, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, which survives as a damaged fragment. Rosa depicts, seemingly, all the internal organs of the completely ripped open abdomen, some of which are popping out, where Rembrandt in the Deyman anatomy shows a literally gutted abdominal cavity the doctor having moved on to the brain. The peeled off skin from the top of the head frames the body’s face like a monastic cowl while the top of the skull has been sawn off and is held by an assistant like a sacred vessel. This gesture can be compared to that of the witch censing the hanged corpse with a deep vessel in the “Scene of Witchcraft”, ca. 1646-9, National Gallery, London (cat. 22). Versalius’s famous anatomy book is also likely to have been a factor particularly as to the innards dangling from incisions.

The crucial difference is that Rosa still feels the need to mythologize the anatomies where Rembrandt derives a religious reverence from a mere, if carefully arranged, depiction of a strictly scientific event. Both artists’ works show man as a both fragile and awe inspiring physical organism the distinction between the two being that Rembrandt’s doctors are dissectors and Rosa’s eagle a vivisectionist. In an Italian environment Rosa may have had to fictionalise dissection in art. In spite of this Rosa was part of the Tuscan intellectual group that responded to the teachings of Galileo (cat. p. 24), another adventurous thinker who, like Rosa, brought trouble on his head with a satirical piece, in the astronomer’s case ridiculing his would be protector Urban VIII. Like any Italian artist of the period Rosa was to a degree dependent on the Church but has gained a reputation for anti-clericalism (Wittkower, “Italian Art and Architecture”, n. 16, Chapt. 14).

Rosa it has been claimed (cat. p. 29) was an early plein air painter or at least sketcher. Drawn studies of both Rubens and Rembrandt show every sign of being done in a frenzy before an outdoor subject. Yet Rosa’s outdoor activities did not effect his tonality as outdoor or bright internal light did those of Vermeer, Saenredam and Karel Fabritius. It is said by the organizers, on good authority, that Rosa drew on the actual landscape near Volterra in Western Tuscany (cat. p. 146) for “Rocky Landscape”, ca. 1650 (cat. 14). There are certainly dramatic rock faces, to some extent anticipating those of John Martin and Philip James de Loutherbourg (the latter in the Turner and the Masters exhibition at the Tate recently tackled by this reviewer) but they are indisputably unlike most of the real landscape around Volterra. This disconnection

between actual landscape and the finished painting is a persistent feature of the landscapes of the period.

Poussin hardly if ever actually paints an umbrella pine, as though by doing so he were invoking a more generalized ideal landscape than even the real Italy can provide. In this smoothing away of Italian and Volterranean distinctiveness by Poussin and Rosa respectively there may be another convergence between North and South to create something idealized away from any real sense of place. Concurrently with the Rosa exhibition the Pre-Raphaelite exhibition *The Pre-Raphaelites and Italy* in the Ashmolean had real umbrella pines by Walter Crane, 1845-1915, in "An Italian Villa", 1872, Witworth Art Gallery, Manchester University (Ashmolean cat. 96), and a Volterranean landscape by the William Blake Richmond, 1842-1921, "The Plains of Tuscany from Volterra", 1892, private collection (Ashmolean cat.116).

Perhaps we should regard seventeenth century landscapes in paint as no more genuinely naturalistic than gardens by Le Nôtre. Rosa often follows the French convention of placing a body of water just in side landscape pictorial space as did Poussin, Le Hyre and other French landscape painters of the period. Rosa may have taken details from actual scenes but orchestrated them into what were very much his own landscapes. Not only did he make nature wilder than most contemporaries but more real. In a small telling detail in "Tobias and the Angel", ca. 1670, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg (cat. 20), some of the flying birds hover expectantly near the fish held by Tobias. In fact the emergence of the Poussinesque Classical landscape occurred at the same time that Rosa and a few others were creating the Proto-Romantic landscape (Wittkower, "Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750", p. 327), or perhaps more accurately developing or exaggerating themes present in the work of Paul and Mattheus Brill, Elsheimer, and Tassi (best known today for raping Artemisia Gentileschi) and in that of the earlier Polidoro da Caravaggio, ca.1500-46 (not to be confused with the more famous Caravaggio). Rosa's shadows are always inkier than Poussin's.

Rosa was to a massive extent influenced by Poussin, as seen particularly in paintings like "The Finding of Moses", ca. 1663, Detroit Institute of Arts (cat. ill. 66), or "Mercury and the Dishonest, Woodsman", ca. 1663, National Gallery, London (cat.

18), one of the finest Rosas of all. In the latter the presence of the stereotypical Poussin poisonous snake and a few classical buildings would almost make it fit to be a work by the French master. Thanks to the insistence of the French that Poussin is a French painter, though out of choice he spent most of his adult life in Rome (just as the Spanish insist that Ribera, another émigré in Italy is Spanish), Poussin tends to be discussed in the context of French not Italian art. This is surely an at least partly wrong approach. 327). Wittkower to his credit includes a brief digression onto Poussin in his “Italian Art and Architecture 1600-1750” (third ed., p. 327).

Gaspar Dughet is an artist who seems to bridge the gap between Poussin and Rosa. Some of the wilder Poussins such as “Piramus and Thisbe”, 1651, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main (cat. ill. 63) are close to Rosa. Horses rear in terror, cattle stampede and trees are blown about as a violent thunderstorm approaches. Another Poussin of this type is the very late “Winter/The Deluge”, 1660-4, Louvre, which is not unlike the Rosa “Finding of Moses” already mentioned. Rosa’s “Mercury and the Dishonest Woodsman” can be seen as a Jacob van Ruisdael with two token significant people added. Another Italian artist, somewhat detached from the mainstream was Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, 1647-9, who, like Rosa, came under Poussin’s influence, a good example being the “Allegory of Vanity”, 1647-9, in the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City, which could be described as a Poussin Bacchanal with the participants in up to date, rather than antique costume, and too many still life props. A significant departure by Rosa from Poussin models is the “Tobias and the Angel”, ca. 1670, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg (cat. 20) in which the cloud formation seems naturalistic but exaggerated like a not wholly benevolent divine presence.

Rosa tackles Poussin’s subject matter, not just aspects of his representations, in, for instance, the “Nurture of Jupiter”, early 1660s, Wellesley College, Maine (cat. ill. 17). A Poussin example given the same title is of ca. 1636-7 and is in the Dulwich Picture Gallery. Both artists were interested in Aeneas’ destiny, Poussin painting “Venus Showing the Arms to Aeneas”, 1639, in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Rouen, and Rosa’s “The Dream of Aeneas”, ca. 1665, Met. New York (cat. 40). Another example of a fairly common theme, which seems to have had many means of expression was Le Brun’s “The Deification of Aeneas”, 1641-4, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Montreal,

which shows a sort of anointing or baptism of the hero. A far more obscure story common to both Poussin and Rosa is represented by Rosa's "Aethra showing Theseus the Tokens of his Father", 1666, Gorhambury, the Earl of Verulam Collection. A Poussin, with the architecture by Jean Le Maire, ca. 1636-7, Louvre, depicts the same episode as did a Le Hyre "Theseus and Althea", ca. 1635, in the RA Treasures from Budapest exhibition (RA Budapest cat. 81). Theseus' father left behind near the venue of an affair a sword under a stone that only a son born of the relationship would be able to lift, a seemingly Arthurian plot. It was well established that the themes common to Arthurian Legend and Classicising myth could be blended, having been given a composite canonical form in "Orlando Furioso". It may be significant that the Poussin version was considerably earlier than Rosa's.

Even Poussin's "The Inspiratron of the Poet", one of his most classical works, may have had an influence on Rosa's far more particularized and narrative "Pan appearing to Pindar", 1666, Arricia, Palazzo Chigi, opposite the magnificent Bernini church (cat. ill. 53), done, like the Theseus painting, for the feast of San Giovanni Decollato (St. John [literally] de-necked [beheaded]) celebrated in the cloister of the Roman church of that name with exhibitions of paintings. Poussin has the god (and his lyre) in mysterious, luminous shadow while Rosa reserves darkness for the background forest leaving the somewhat alarming god as prosaically visible as the poet. Obviously Poussin and Rosa shared the concerns of their time but perhaps Rosa chose Poussin subject matter more frequently than mere chance would have produced and like him concentrated on cabinet paintings and landscapes as well as being a failure in the set piece large altarpiece.

An obscure story shared with both Rembrandt and the milieu from which he emerged is "St. Phillip Baptizing the Eunuch". The Rosa version, late 1650s, Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia (cat. 39) is perhaps a more accomplished work than the early Rembrandt of ca. 1630, lost but known through a print by Jan van Vliet of 1631. Schama in the past ("Rembrandt's Eyes", ill. p. 235) has accepted as a Rembrandt the 1626 version in the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht. The authors of the catalogue appear not to accept this attribution. Rembrandt's master Lastman painted it, 1623, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (illustrated in Schama's "Rembrandt's Eyes", p. 234), as did Aelbert Cuyp twice, ca. 1642-3, Menil Collection, Houston, Texas and

ca. 1653, Anglesey Abbey. As the catalogue points out (p. 227) Northern artists active in Rome were also partial to the subject, one example, by Jan Both, ca. 1639-41, Prado, being for the Buen Retiro in Madrid, a vast undertaking on which young Rosa had also worked in his period as an assistant in Aniello's studio (cat. p. 13). Ironically a devotional picture for the Catholic King appears to have as its sources the creations of the heretical Dutch still technically the Spanish king's subjects. Rosa places more emphasis on the figures than Lastman and "Rembrandt" in the Utrecht painting in which excessive prominence is given to the extraordinary concave pattern of the spokes of the wheels of the convert's carriage.

The influence of Ribera persists in Rosa's output. Ribera often showed figures just behind the foreground on a lower level as in two versions of the "Flaying of Marsyas", both 1637 Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples and Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, the "Martyrdom of St. Bartholemew", 1639, Prado (note the perverse interest in flayings) and, in the overlapping RA exhibition Treasures from Budapest, the "Martyrdom of St. Andrew", 1628 (RA cat. 97). In these instances Rosa moderates the Riberesque convention in favour of less violent scenes as in the enigmatic "Landscape with Three Figures", ca. 1648-55, Florence, Uffizi (cat. 30), "Pythagoras coming out of the Cave", 1662, Kimbel Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas (cat. 31) and "Democritus and Protagoras", ca. 1663-4, Hermitage, St. Petersburg (cat. ill. 76). Strictly speaking Protagoras kneels behind a bundle of sticks but when compared to the other two it can be seen to be one of a type.

In the Pythagoras painting two stories are conflated in one of which the philosopher, who claimed to have descended into Hades, apparently emerges from the underworld. He had pulled off a spectacular con trick unlike Empedocles in another Rosa painting mentioned above. The composition cleverly reverses the Riberaesque format, in which it is a mere spectator who is waist deep behind the foreground, whereas Rosa makes this person the focus of attention. The subject of this painting, a pendant to "Pythagoras and the Fishermen", which as noted above, also refers to a Christian scene, in that it could almost be a "Raising of Lazarus" with Christ de-emphasized. As though to make the connection inescapable blocks and slabs of rock simulate tombs. Not only does the frieze-like composition recall Poussin, but the graveyard-like aspect recalls Ruisdael's equally tonally dark, very recent "Jewish Cemetery", ca. 1660,

Gemäldegalerie, Dresden. Is Rosa casting a Christian gloss over mythology or is there a note of scepticism to be detected in the gloss mythology adds to Christian beliefs? Yet another Northern painter who Rosa at times resembles is the much older Abraham Bloemart, 1566-1651, whose scenes with crumbling, rustic buildings and broad shouldered peasants, such as “Farmhouses with Peasants”, 1650, State Museums Berlin (illustrated in Rosenburg, Slive and Kule, “Dutch Art and Architecture 1600-1800”, ill. 183), are very like Rosa’s “The Departure of Astrea”, ca. 1640-5, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (cat. ill. 8). Bloemart too could introduce mythological titles to peasant scenes as in “Latona and the Peasants of Lycia”, ca. 1646, Centraal Museum, Utrecht. Myth can be transposed into genre and vice versa.



Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl

By no means all Rosa’s paintings are painted in defiance of the conventions. But for the relative wildness of the settings “Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl”, ca. 1657-8, Wallace Collection (cat. 16), falls well within the tradition of pastoral landscape laid down by Annabile Carracci. As will be suggested later, at times Rosa undermined this tradition. Possibly this is a pagan version of Christ and the Woman of Samaria especially as a seated Apollo makes a gesture close to a Christian benediction. His leg however is extended without support as a suggestion of the divine sexual agitation aroused by the sibyl, at that moment still beautiful. It is interesting that Rosa took the two main figures and turned them into a combined etching and dry point (cat. ill. 67).

This is a much more compact work that has a few token suggestions of landscape background but can also be traced back to the Ancient Greek metope two figure composition. Both the young god's feet are firmly planted on the ground and there is no benediction. The figures are closer together so there is no room for dramatic gesture. Instead the divine power, which will confer on the henceforth catastrophically aging sibyl as many years of life as the grains of sand she has scooped up, is suggested by other means. Fluttering over the grains are curly strands of Apollo's locks like rays of sun warming life out of the seemingly inanimate. Curly Apolline locks often associated by close proximity with the hair or face of another person are a characteristic of the works of Rosso Fiorentino as in the great Volterra "Deposition", 1521, Pinacoteca, Volterra.

A relatively unexplored part of influences on Rosa may be his documented presence in Volterra where Rosso Fiorentino's spectacular "Deposition" remained well away from the usual haunts of mainstream artists, only to emerge as an iconic work with the early twentieth century discovery of Mannerism. The stunning bright colour and the little background genre scene, seemingly involving three men and a blowgun (?), may have reinforced tendencies in Rosa's own oeuvre. Further evidence for Rosa's awareness of Rosso may come from the closing lines of a satire by Rosa on the role played by Rosso's follower Daniele da Volterra in making the Sistine altar wall "decent".

Daniele da Volterra then was told
Quickly to tailor pants for the Last Judgement
- So great and dreadful was that error to behold

(Wittkowers, "Born Under Saturn", p. 177)

Moreover the catalogue, in establishing the context for Rosa's necromancy pictures, reproduces a print by printmaker Agostino Veneziano, "Lo Stregozzo", 1515-25 (cat. ill. 69), a collaborator with Rosso on the printed version of the latter's own macabre image, the "Allegory of Death and Fame", 1517 (reproduced in Carroll, "Rosso: Drawings, Prints and Decorative Arts", cat. 2) A possible link to Rosso and the Volterra "Deposition" is to be found in the several paintings that have a laterally viewed figure on all fours like the prominent Magdelene in the Rosso painting. They

appear in “St. Philip and the Eunuch”, late 1650s, Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia (cat. 39); “Saul and the Witch of Endor”, 1668, Louvre (cat. ill. 56) and “The Philosophers’ Wood (Diogenes throwing away his bowl)”, ca. 1641, Galleria Palatina, Plazzo Pitti, Florence (cat. ill. 11). The latter perhaps dates from before Rosa reached Volterra or immediately after the impact of a first sight of the Rosso, and has the figure in red like the Magdelene. There is a later Diogenes throwing away his bowl”, 1651-2, Statens Amuseum for Kunst, Copenhagen (cat. ill. 48) with the figure possibly derived from the Magdelene half out of the picture. It is very interesting that Rosa has the eunuch kneeling before Philip who has his arms extended asymmetrically much like the hidden woman seen from behind, mostly made out of St. John’s very different pose in Volterra. Philip is seen from the front rather than the rear. Did Rosa notice this strange feature of the Rosso work and adapt it and bring it out into the open in his painting? It should be pointed out that an early Annibale Carracci, “The Butchers Shop”, 1582-3, Christ Church Gallery, Oxford, has a similar figure, which cannot reasonably be connected to the Rosso.

On the basis of the necessarily restricted number of works actually exhibited there would appear to have been by the end of the artist’s career a gradual lightening of tonality in some works as though, belatedly, the effect of outdoor light took hold. This trend is, however, generally apparent in Late Baroque and accelerated into the Rococo. This is allied to ever more classical forms in Rosa’s oeuvre. Anyone looking for the rebel who became ever more detached from the prevailing trends is going to be to some extent disappointed. The “Conspiracy of Catiline”, 1663, Museo di Casa Martelli, Florence (cat. ill. 52) is basically a classical frieze put in a box-like room and but for the physiognomies might be by the slightly dull, Northern classicising Philippe de Champagne or a toned down cabinet version of David’s “Tennis Court Oath” in the then distant future. When this Rosa is compared to the obvious Rembrandt, “The Oath Taking of Claudius Civilis”, ca. 1661-2, Stockholm, National Museum, even in its cut down state, the Rembrandt is far more arresting, a public declaration as opposed to Rosa’s plot in a smoke filled room. “Jerimiah Released from the Dungeon”, 1662, Musée Condé, Chantilly (cat. ill. 51) possibly makes compositional references to the later of two and the more dramatic “Martyrdom of St. Lawrence”, by Titian, 1564-7, Escorial, both in the scrunched up victim and the figure bending down

towards his feet. A person close to the bent over figure also appears in several Titian Entombments, such as that in the Prado, 1559, holding Christ's feet.

A contemporary of Rosa was the great Spanish painter Velázquez one of whose most staggering mature works was the "Mars", 1640, Prado. On the one hand the figure refers to the god's embarrassing entrapment and exposure with his lover to the voyeuristic ridicule of the other gods during a passionate encounter with Venus. More generally it comments on the decay of martial ardour (highly relevant to Spain at this time) and of youthful ambition. Though less ambitious, Rosa's "Soldier", ca. 1655, Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome (cat. 24b) also does not seem to be appropriately energetic. He looks somewhat uncertain and bemused and has, not his tail, but his splendid blue cloak between his legs. The artist's and viewer's sympathy with this figure is echoed in the probable companion piece to the "Soldier", the "Witch", ca. 1655, Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome (cat. 24b) in which the subject can be viewed as a fellow creature subject to the effects of age and perverse impulses.

No artist ever entirely escapes from the ethos of his own time no matter how rebellious his personality may have been. I have attempted to debunk the myth of Rosa's uniqueness, assiduously promoted by the artist himself. Moreover, though this was not the exhibition's principle argument, he seems increasingly to have needed to test himself against the great classical tradition, while nudging it in new directions, even as it had been recently been altered by Poussin and other Northerners. If, by preference, much of the time he had worked on small-scale exotic cabinet paintings, like a Dutch artist, an important early work was monumental if somewhat stilted "Incredulity of St. Thomas", ca. 1639, Museo Civico, Viterbo (cat. fig. 5). Shortly before his death, as he put it "after thirty years spent in Rome, thirty years of shattered hopes and constant disappointments" (Wittkowers, "Born Under Saturn", p. 58 & fig. 9) Rosa was finally given a commission for a major altarpiece in the eternal city for the "Martyrdom of Saints Cosmas and Damian" in San Giovanni Fiorentini. The clunking painting is full of references to Michelangelo's later phases, although the artist most embarrassingly told a colleague he had exceeded the great man's achievement. It is worth pointing out that these saints are Medici patrons and that the commission for such an important work in the Florentine church in Rome could hardly have been given without Grand Ducal approbation. Thus the very family

whose good will the artist had neglected to cultivate earlier made possible the project that for size, location and prestige should, by the standards of his time, have been his greatest success. Another late public work was for Pisa Cathedral where Rosa's Altarpiece was to balance one by the ultra safe Sarto.

In sometimes, small ways in his cabinet paintings Rosa was an innovative subverter of prevailing conventions. He presumably made use of his knowledge of Northern art in his banditti works drawing on the tradition of paintings of raids on supply chains in the Flemish wars, as in Sebastian Vrancx's "Attack on a Convoy", Bayerische Stadgemäldesammlungen, Aschaffenburg (given recent prominence by being put on the cover of Parker's "The Dutch Revolt"). His modifications could, however, comment on and undermine heroic themes much as his battles showed the *mêlée* not the powerful, usually foreground, commander as did Rubens and Velázquez. The woman being "helped" off the horse, as her baggage is also off loaded, in the "Attack by Bandits", ca.1639, Knoke (cat. 25), may be heading for a traumatic experience especially as open violence has broken out on the opposite side of the painting. The perpetrators are not, in this early work, romantic exponents of a carefree lifestyle but criminals. Impending rape is made commonplace and sordid in startling contrast to countless canvasses of the Rape of the Sabines or Rubens's archetypal, dramatic "Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus", ca.1616-9, Alte Pinakotecke, Munich. Sexual violation becomes bad behaviour among the low life, a treatment that is more like nineteenth century Realism than Romanticism, anticipating a much analysed work by Degas sometimes called either "Interior" or "The Rape", 1868-9, Henry McIlhenny, Philadelphia, about a furtive encounter.

Some of the later banditti almost seem to be lost in a pastoral reverie as are some of Poussin's characters or the Claude figures basking in evening hazy sunshine. The costumes are elaborate and exotic. Almost all these French works have hidden depths, for instance, a calamity of biblical or epic proportions that the informed viewer knows is going to shatter the idyll. A pair of works both entitled "Landscape with Armed Men", ca. 1655, LACMA or Los Angeles County Museum of Art (cat. 27a&b) are subtly different. In one, urgent consultations are taking place, possibly on how the soldiers are to get over the ravine cut by a stream. In the other there could be leisure to admire the beauty and grandeur of Nature as some of the gestures and the expression

of the semi-recumbent figure suggest, at least until one looks into the shadow cast by the natural bridge and sees a man descending to the far side of the torrent brandishing a sword and a scarf, perhaps a trophy or a mortal struggle or murder. Rosa has his equivalents of Poussin's snakes in the grass finely balanced with anticipation of Carmen's carefree, liberated time with the smugglers. In a few other scenes the soldiers are in groupings taken out of a very familiar context of reverie as in "Bandits on a Rocky Coast", ca. 1655, Met., New York (cat. 26).

The undermining of types can be seen in other paintings. Rubens' "Peace and War", 1629-30, National Gallery, London, has a macabre parallel in Rosa's "Fortuna", 1659, Getty (cat. 37). A strange Bassano-like composition of animals is surmounted with the bare bosomed woman and cornucopia Rubens employed. Some symbolic objects fall from the cornucopia, but the overall impression is not of divine bounty but menace appropriate to Alice Through the Looking Glass. Another painting, "Fortuna", ca. 1640-2, private collection (cat. 35) with a naked woman on a crystal globe, anticipates a late stilted Vermeer, "Allegory of Faith", 1670-5, Met., New York, but without the splendid light, while a flying putto holds a snake. A serpent is also in the Dutch work but the main similarity is that the both figures attempt to dominate a globe, Vermeer's placing a foot on a medium sized terrestrial globe, Rosa's precariously seated on the top of a transparent sphere. The Rosa is closer to a Dosso Dossi's, strange painting, "An Allegory of Fortune", 1535-8, Getty Museum, Los Angeles, in which the female personification with a cornucopia, again nude sits, on a small glass globe or bubble. She is accompanied by a nearly nude man who brandishes a bundle of lottery tickets. Unlike Mannerism, the Baroque seldom excelled at the transparently artificial. None of these paintings with women balanced on spheres really works, the one closest to being plausible is the Dossi.

In "The Frailty of Human Life", ca. 1656, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (cat. 36) a child is educated by a skeleton and a female personification crowned with flowers, much as Marie de Medicis is instructed in the Arts by the gods in one of the paintings, 1622-5, Louvre, early in the cycle setting forth a highly edited biography of that far from exemplary princess. Rubens has Mercury flying down not a skeleton at the apex of the composition. Where a Christian saint or great philosopher might be surrounded by attributes that are appropriate or denote prestige, great tome, scientific instruments,

the laid aside cardinals hat, the subject in “Democritus in Meditation”, 1650-1, Staatens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (cat. ill. 47) sits in a pile of macabre objects trouvé as might a witch or sorcerer. In “Frailty” and “Democritus” Rosa must have been aware of the stereotypes he was transforming.



Death of Atilius Regulus

The soldiers to one side of a Crucifixion gambling for Christ’s robe but become instead a complete image in themselves in “Soldiers Gaming”, ca. 1660-5, Dulwich Picture Gallery (cat. 28) while a crucifixion fulfilling prophecies is accorded to an Ancient Greek ruler in “The Crucifixion of Polycrates”, ca. 1663-5, Chicago Art Institute (cat. 32b). This is a companion piece to “Polycrates Receiving the Fish”, ca. 1663-5, Chicago Art Institute (cat. 32a) that draws upon the traditional iconography of Tobias and the Angel and the Finding of Moses. In the “Death of Atilius Regulus”, ca. 1652, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (cat. 29) the crowds with dramatic gestures and the odd mounted figure are carefully balanced, but not on either side of Christ’s Cross. Instead Regulus is between them lying in a barrel, which he will be nailed into with other huge nails piercing its interior on all sides. He will then be rolled down a hill. The muscular men hammering could be nailing Christ or the thieves onto a cross. J. M. W. Turner, perhaps one of the last exponents of the epic landscape tradition, would, in a Neo-Claudian work, give Regulus, whose legend is rather vague, another equally grim but different end in a painting of 1828, reworked 1837, in Tate Britain. In fact Rosa’s precedents may have helped as it were licensed

Turner to digress from Classicism into various experiments for which Poussin provided no guidelines. Rather than being the great innovator Salvator Rosa is the master of the dislocating adjustment. These adjustments are in themselves powerful enough to make Rosa of interest centuries after his life.

Timothy Alves

**‘Threads of Feeling’:
The London Foundling Hospital’s Textile Tokens, 1740-1770
The Foundling Museum
14th Oct 2010 – 6th Mar 2011**

‘The Bit of Red Cloth Enclosed was pinned to the Childs Cap’

The ‘Threads of Feeling’ exhibition provides a fascinating glimpse into one of the aspects of the lives of the poor in eighteenth-century London. The Foundling Hospital was established in 1739 to take in children whose parents were unable to support them. The children were to receive education and training so that they would become useful to society. Parents could theoretically reclaim their offspring in better times but this happened very infrequently.

Although they were uncommon, reunions were the ideal scenario. Mothers (and occasionally fathers or workhouse representatives) who left their children were encouraged to leave a token they could later use to identify their child. The foundlings were given a number and renamed upon arrival. Some of them had already been Christened and had names but this did not matter. (Quite what this does for those trying to trace infant mortality or family history today is an interesting point to ponder. If they really did take place, presumably these baptisms were recorded in the parish registers.) Tokens were an essential part of the registration process and many of the Hospital’s entry forms include a notice that the token should be treated with care: the parents really believed they would be back. Many of the children were not

unwanted or uncared for: their parents simply could not afford to keep them. Consider, for example, this message from the parents of Foundling No. 7000, admitted 13 January 1758:

Ann Gardiner Daughter of James and Elizth. Gardiner was Born in St Brides Parish Octor. ye 6th and Baptized and Registerd in the Parish Church Octr. ye 10th 1757. Begs to have care Taken of her and They will pay all Charges in a little Time with a handsome acknowledgement for the same and have her Home again when they Get over a little Trouble they are in: She is not a bastard Child your Care will be most Gratefully Acknowledged by your most obliged Humble Servant JG.

The exhibition is full of such heart-wrenching messages. Some of the exhibition's power comes from the lay-out of the room. Visitors confront these messages and the tokens in what seems a very limited space: you feel anyone coming near to you while you are reading such personal messages is an intruder into something very private and personal. It is an odd sensation since you the reader have no better reason or right to be there than the other visitors. This is not meant to be an off-putting comment, more a warning: the exhibition is well worth a look but the subject matter can be harrowing. (And I am not even fond of children!)

The tokens themselves could take a variety of forms. Many were objects or pieces of jewellery. 'Threads of Feeling' focuses on textile tokens of various types. Cloth was a good choice since it could be pinned into the Hospital's registration books. The cloth was also often described in text.

From bright ribbons to coarse linens, from topknots and cockades to tiny infant sleeves, and from richly embroidered silks and cheerful printed calicos to tiny scraps of rough worsted and linsey-woolsey, the foundlings' mothers provided a rich array of distinctive and varied eighteenth-century textiles. They unwittingly developed an astounding historical collection of cloths. These show that there were infinite amounts of choices in colour, pattern, and fabric available to even the poorest London consumer. Some of the glorious embroidered silks may also show that those who were

giving up their children really had fallen on hard times when they had previously been better off.

The rest of the Museum uses a 'threads' theme to draw the visitor through. Textiles and clothing are brought to the fore to tie in with the exhibition. Thomas Coram, the Hospital's founder, had the support of celebrities who helped with fund-raising. This was a bit like 'Children in Need' in an eighteenth-century style. The composer Handel offered charity concerts which were so well attended that ladies were requested to leave their hoops for their skirts at home so that everyone could fit into the concert venue. Handel, meanwhile, left all his clothes and linen to his servant: his will is on display. The artist Hogarth was a major supporter of the Hospital who donated artworks, designed the letterhead and crockery, and even fostered children. Attention is drawn to his depictions of cloth and clothing in his works. The idea of extending the current exhibition to the rest of the museum is a sound one.

Also well worth a look is the wonderful rococo Governors' Court Room which features art by Hogarth and other leading eighteenth-century English painters, including Gainsborough. The Museum's art gallery houses Hogarth's portrait of Thomas Coram of 1740 and portraits of other supporters of the Foundling Hospital through the ages.

You can see two of the textile tokens and find out more about the exhibition and accompanying events at http://www.foundlingmuseum.org.uk/exhibit_temp.php.

Karen Baston



LECTURE

Four Models of Union

Dr John Ford

The Stair Society Annual Lecture

6th November 2011

[If you'd like some background on Scots law, Viscount Stair, and the Stair Society, please see the note below.¹]

Dr John Ford delivered an informative and accessible paper on different ideas of union between Scotland and England pre-1707. What follows is a write-up of my notes from the lecture.

The concept of 'union' is an important one in the modern Scottish legal system. Questions are asked about how Scots law functions in relation to the rest of Britain and to the European Union. These concerns are not new and they go back centuries. The Early Modern period is particularly important for working out the types of union available. Ford's lecture explored the ways in which Scots law was perceived before the Union of 1707 and detailed four models for union with England and Wales from the sixteenth century to the eve of Union.

¹ One of the conditions of the Union between Scotland and England in 1707 was that Scotland would retain its separate legal system. Scottish law was - and is - not the same as English Common Law. It developed from a combination of feudal customary law and a civil law tradition based on Roman law. The latter was absorbed into local legal systems via canon law and reliance on it increased after the printing of the Emperor Justinian's sixth century *Corpus Juris Civilis* in the sixteenth century. The *Corpus Juris Civilis* was the definitive statement of the law of ancient Rome as set down by Justinian's Byzantine court. It was used to fill in 'gaps' in local law in Scotland and on the Continent. Scottish lawyers, therefore, had more in common with Continental lawyers than they did with English lawyers. In the early modern period, Scottish legal theorists began to work out what Scottish law was and to publish works which defined it. These writers, among them James Dalrymple, Viscount Stair (1619–1695), were later known as 'Institutional' writers and their works became sources of Scots law in their own right. The Stair Society 'exists to encourage the study and advance the knowledge of the history of Scots Law by the publication of original documents and the reprinting and editing of works of sufficient rarity or importance'. It also holds an annual meeting which features an address by a leading legal historian. Somewhat implausibly, Viscount Stair maintains his own Facebook page (with the help of a modern servant) at <http://www.facebook.com/?ref=home#!/pages/James-Dalrymple-1st-Viscount-Stair/169951039265?v=wall>. The Stair Society homepage can be found at <http://www.stairsociety.org/home.htm>.

An attempt at union occurred in 1542 after the death of Scotland's James V. Henry VIII planned to unite the countries by marriage. For Henry, a lasting union could be achieved by marrying his five-year old son Edward to the newborn Mary Queen of Scots. The children's children would rule over both countries. The Scots insisted that they should retain their own laws and customs if this union took place. Henry agreed and a treaty was signed at Holyrood in 1543. By December of the same year, the Scots declared the treaty to be invalid. The 'Rough Wooing' followed. What went wrong?

The Four Models of Union

1: Wales

The Scots feared that they would eventually go the way of Wales. They remembered Edward I's conquest of Wales in the thirteenth century. Although the Welsh retained some rights and privileges after Edward took over, the English Common Law gradually obliterated the Welsh legal system. Welsh judges were required to train in common law and Welsh cases could be heard at Westminster. Some Welsh customary law was received into English Common Law but English law was primary. Local laws would only be assimilated if they were deemed reasonable and agreeable to English law. The process was gradual but complete.

The Scots thought this fate was best avoided. The English, who persisted with the unification plan even after Henry's death, were aware of their concerns. The Duke of Somerset said in 1547 that 'we seek not to take from you your laws and customs' but the Scots were not convinced: the Battle of Pinkie followed.

2: Brittany and France

The focus of union changed when Mary married the future François II of France instead of Edward VI. The idea of union was even more ambitious this time since any children of the marriage could rule Scotland, France, and England. France's Henri II was every bit as keen to extend his dynastic power as Henry VIII of England had been.

As with the negotiations with the English, the French contract included the provision that the monarch would observe and respect Scottish privileges. France was not seen as the threat that England was. Rather, it had the potential to help Scotland maintain independence. The French could even offer a positive model of union.

In 1532, François I established a union with the Duchy of Brittany. François promised to maintain the Duchy's legal independence and the Breton courts would continue to operate as before. The separation of law stayed intact for the next 150 years with only minimal interference. This union, however, was unpopular in Brittany since it came to be treated like a province.

The Breton model was different from the Welsh model in that there was no attempt at assimilation. The Scots generally approved of this model but they shared the Breton concern of being treated as a province rather than as independent nation.

In the event François II's early death ended speculation about the Breton model of union in the Scottish context.

3: The Imperial Model: Customary v civil law

Legal commentators in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were meanwhile asking questions about the origins and practice of their national laws. In France, Charles Du Moulin sought to compare the laws of the different regions of France. He and other French jurists took a learned approach in an attempt to unify the customary law of France while developing a common legal heritage but soon realised that this project was far too ambitious. Across the Channel, Francis Bacon and James VI/I wanted to establish a uniform law for England and Scotland. Each nation was to compile its own laws so that the systems could be compared. A commission was established for this but nothing came of the project. Other projects considered the possibility of creating a compilation of law like the one made in Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

French jurists tried to find common elements in regional law so they could expand them. Roman law as a statement of natural reason was the common law of France but civil law as the constitution of a Roman emperor was not valid in France. France had

its own sovereignty and Roman law should therefore be used for its principles. The only civil law that was valid had already been adapted as customary law in the regions.

Scottish commentators agreed. Civil law was only binding when it was reasonable and equitable. The king acknowledged no superior. Sir George Mackenzie credited civil law as having 'influence' but no more than that.

The Scottish jurist Thomas Craig (1538?–1608) attempted to harmonise Scots and English law by drawing out the similarities between the systems. Craig used a civilian approach to examine the civil, canon, and feudal inheritance the nations shared. He pointed out that English common lawyers had to recognise that they were part of a wider legal tradition – something they declined to do. Craig's work *Jus Feudale* sought to make Scots law more accessible.

4: Local Development

Scottish and English law had mingled since the middle ages. Medieval documents like *Glanvil* and *Regiam majestatem* were used as proof of a common tradition between the two countries. James I of Scotland had brought in the English system of writs and there were other examples of cross-border legal sharing and development.

Some Scottish commentators actually wanted a union with England. George Mackenzie saw English law as a source and wanted to try to get closer to English customs. The English Common Law was the proper law of another nation and it could be used for direction and guidance.

James Dalrymple, Viscount Stair, took a different approach. Like Mackenzie, he favoured a closer union with England. However, although he was aware of its influence, Stair did not favour English Common Law. Nor did he believe that civil law had any binding force in Scotland. Law had to be recognised locally and decisions could lead to new law. Civil law was no more binding than any other foreign law. Stair's model of union promoted Scottish control of the future development of its own law.



Stair

Modern Concerns

The queries and concerns of Early Modern jurists are still being worked out today. Should Scotland assimilate with England and Wales to become part of the English Common Law family? Should the EU have a harmonised *ius commune* and if so how should it be used as local level? Would it fill in gaps in local law or would it become a new local law? Where would an EU *ius commune* come from when there are no core texts for EU law? Is it better to have binding rules across the EU or to use it as a forum for discussion of what law should be?

The divisions between legal systems and how to work between these are not just the concerns of Early Modern debates. Ford's discussion of the 'Four Models of Union' reminds us that history is relevant.

Karen Baston

Television

***Garrow's Law*, Season 2, BBC**

Garrow's Law is an excellent costume drama series which features real cases from the eighteenth-century Old Bailey.

William Garrow (Andrew Buchan) is a young barrister who takes a new approach to defending his clients: his adversarial style helps him to dig out the truth from witnesses on both sides of the cases. He is helped by his nominal mentor, John Southouse (Alun Armstrong), who visits shoemakers, country estates, workhouses, prisons, and even a molly house to determine the facts of each case.

Garrow has a powerful enemy in Sir Arthur Hill (Rupert Graves) who believes (incorrectly) that Garrow has committed adultery with his wife Lady Sarah Hill (Lindsey Marshal) and the child Sarah has recently had is Garrow's. Hill casts off Lady Sarah and she and Garrow admit to each other that they are in love. As Hill and his sinister lawyer try to entrap the couple as part of Hill's divorce proceedings, Garrow must carry on with his duties in court.



Garrow and Lady Sarah share a moment: Southouse wishes they'd get a room

Episode 1

In the powerful first episode to the season, Garrow takes a case of insurance fraud. But this case goes beyond a mere insurance claim. The insurers do not want to pay a claim on 133 slaves thrown to their deaths off the slave ship *Zong* since they believe the claim may be fraudulent because the ship may have been unsound and the captain incompetent. Another passenger on the voyage kept a diary and his account does not match with the captain's. Who is telling the truth about what happened on the *Zong*'s disastrous voyage? Can Garrow bring an element of humanity to a system which refuses to recognise the murder of 133 human beings? (And, if you think this is the sort of case that would normally have been tried before the Admiralty Court, you are

correct. The programme writers changed the focus so that this could be a criminal case to prove negligence on the part of the captain so that the Old Bailey and Garrow could be plausibly involved. The real Garrow had no involvement with the real life *Zong* case.) Meanwhile, Garrow is served with a writ from the Court of King's Bench regarding Lady Sarah's divorce.

Episode 2

As Lady Sarah's divorce proceedings continue, Garrow is called upon to defend a man accused of sodomy. Although there was a real Captain Robert Jones who was accused of sodomy in 1772 (see <http://rictornorton.co.uk/eighteen/jones1.htm>), the storyline in episode two is more a composite of what sort of cases might have happened. Few records were kept and even in this fictionalised version the court gives the instruction that no details are to be published. Sodomy was a capital crime in the eighteenth century so when the fictional Jones is accused by shoemaker David Jasker of sodomy and rape, Jones's very life depends on a good defence from Garrow and Southouse. The legal team works out that there is more than meets the eye in this case. Garrow's own experience of not being able to publically express his love for Lady Sarah increases his sympathy for Jones and Jasker. He soon realises that it is Jasker's wife (fiercely played by Liz White) who is the driving force in the case.

Episode 3

In another composite case, based on fact but in which the real Garrow had no involvement, the fictional Garrow takes on corruption in the Admiralty. Captain Thomas Baillie tries to do his best as an administrator to supply the retired and disabled sailors at the Greenwich Hospital but he is hamstrung by reductions in funds and supplies. When he takes his complaints to the Commissioners – including Sir Arthur Hill - he is accused of making trouble and is dismissed from his post. He publishes a document giving the details of the issues he raised and is accused of libel and thrown into Newgate for his pains. Garrow must come face-to-face with his tormenter Hill in court. But is Hill going more than a bit mad and just who is that woman he's letting into his house after hours?

Episode 4

Things are not going well for Garrow. He loses a case with the result that a twelve-year old boy is to be executed. Some soul searching results and it's up to loyal Southouse and lovely Lady Sarah to get him back on track. Meanwhile, his own adultery case looms. Fortunately Garrow has more and better friends and allies than he realises. Southouse's persistent investigations finally pay off and the scene is set for drama at the Court of King's Bench as the trial begins. Sir Arthur Hill has been hiding a big secret but can the skills of super barrister Thomas Erskine ensure Garrow's ruin?

The dramas in each episode are well acted, beautifully presented, and compelling. But even better is the chance to go directly to the primary sources at the Old Bailey Online which is available at (<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/index.jsp>). The programme homepage at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00w5c2w> gives helpful links to the real life people and cases which inspired the stories and comes highly recommended. Although some of the original stories have been changed around, spliced together, or heightened for dramatic effect, the overall effect of the series is one of verisimilitude. It is important to remember that this is a television drama series which uses fact rather than a documentary series. For more information about the life (including the even better than fiction story of his relationship with Sarah) and cases of William Garrow, the Garrow Society website at <http://www.garrowsociety.org/> is highly recommended.

There is also added fun while watching in spotting places in Edinburgh which have been used as stand-ins for London. The first season used the University of Edinburgh's Old College for its Old Bailey exteriors. This was not possible for the second season because of the quad being dug up for archaeological and new paving installation purposes. This season has featured Parliament Square with its distinctive equestrian statue of Charles II (now not there temporarily as it's being restored) as a view from an office.

Garrow's Law seasons 1-2 will be available as a box set in February 2011.

KAREN BASTON

FORTHCOMING SOCIETY EVENTS

Events 2010-2011

All events start at 6.30p.m. unless otherwise stated, and are followed by refreshments and questions

20th January 2011: Dr Frances Harris, 'The Knot and the Pentacle: Sir Robert Moray and His Anglo-Scottish Networks at the Stuart Courts', Malet Street 538

17th February 2011: Dr Helen Pierce, 'political Playing Cards and the Iconography of Gambling During the English Restoration', Clore 101

31st March 2011: Prof. William Doyle 'Revolutionary Napoleon?' Clore 101

28th April 2011: Dr Angela MacShane, 'Material Cultures of Drinking: Materiality, Identity and Social Practice in early Modern England' Room TBC

20th May 2011: Dr Carmen Fracchia, 'Slavery and Visuality in Imperial Spain: The Miracle of the Black Leg' Clore 101

Dr Jenny Wormald, Subject and venue to be confirmed

For further information on membership and activities contact the secretary, Anne Byrne: Membership is £5 for the year. Non-members may attend events at a cost of £3 each.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

This section concerns those events staged by other societies which we feel might be of interest to our membership.

Venice: Canaletto and his Rivals

The National Gallery, London

Telephone: 02077472885

13th October 2010 – 16th January 2011

The National Gallery has assembled some fifty major works by Canaletto and other eighteenth-century artists presenting a variety of Venetian views. Major paintings by Canaletto such as *The Riva degli Schiavoni* and *Looking West* are featured as well as works by the artist's nephew Bernardo Bellotto and by Francesco Guardi and Michele Marieschi.

EMPHASIS

**(Early Modern Philosophy and History of Science Seminar)
2010-2011**

**Venue: Room 104 [1st Floor] Senate House, South Building, Malet Street,
London WC1E.**

Time: Saturday, 2-4pm. Refreshments provided.

8th January 2011

History and Natural Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries:

Per Landgren (University of Gothenburg, Visiting scholar at Oxford): 'Natural History and the Aristotelian Concept of History'.

Dmitri Levitin (University of Cambridge): 'Pious corpuscularians and idolatrous Aristotle: Robert Boyle on the history of philosophy'

5th February 2011

Soul and Intellect in the Seventeenth Century:

Michael Edwards (Jesus College, Cambridge): 'Time and the passions of the soul'

Daniel Andersson (Oxford): 'Intellectual virtues in late seventeenth-century England'.

5th March 2011

Penelope Gouk (University of Manchester): 'Music and the emergence of experimental science'.

16th April 2011 Occult Philosophy in the Renaissance

Didier Kahn (Sorbonne, Paris IV/CNRS) 'Gerard Dorn and the pseudo-Paracelsian tract *Monarchia Triadis in unitate* (1577)'

Jean Pierre Brach (École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris): 'Currents and aspects of Number Symbolism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'.

7th May 2011

Anna Maria Roos (Oxford) 'Spiderman: Dr. Martin Lister (1639-1712) and early modern theories of insect vectors and disease'

4th June 2011

Hannah Dawson (University of Edinburgh)

Title tbc.

For the most up-to-date information on the seminar please consult the seminar website:

<http://ies.sas.ac.uk/events/seminars/Emphasis/index.htm>

To be added to the EMPHASIS e-mailing list, please contact the organiser:

Dr Stephen Clucas: s.clucas@bbk.ac.uk

BOOK REVIEW

NON-FICTION BOOKS

I hope that many of you will send in your reviews of newly published books and the occasional old book. The only criteria being that it deals with a subject within the Early Modern period, roughly from the Renaissance (the middle of the fifteenth century) through to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and that the book is still in print.

John Croxon

The Story of England
by Michael Wood
(Penguin Viking)

Michael Wood has made over one hundred documentary films in his career and this book accompanies the latest offering on the BBC. He has a lovely, engaging manner which always comes over on television and he tends to write in the same way, and from the beginning of this book his warm enthusiasm means we are quickly drawn into the story of Kibworth, a village in Leicestershire, and its inhabitants over the centuries.

Of course it is not just Kibworth that Wood is describing, but, in using a small village community, he is retelling the story of England itself; from Roman Britain to the Anglo Saxons and the Vikings, to Normans and medieval Kibworth, to the early modern period and the Industrial Revolution, and to the big changes of the twentieth century.

Wood utilizes archaeological discoveries and a variety of documentary evidence such as tax rolls, letters and diaries to uncover the secrets of Kibworth's past. The Saxon period is particularly interesting and one can see the real beginnings of English society and the flourishing culture and values that were smashed by the catastrophic Norman invasion.

For our Society it is of course the period from the late-fifteenth century to the age of Napoleon that concerns us and Kibworth experiences a lot during these times and shows us the human struggles that experienced the religious, political and social conflicts of the age. Wood tells us tales of Protestant radicals and religious traditionalists and of the family and community tensions that were exposed by the Reformation and then the Civil War.

This book is a delight to read and tells the story of Kibworth and of England from the bottom up, of the beginnings of English society to the modern English people. This is a people's history of England, all told through the story of one small community in the heart of England.

John Croxon

FICTION BOOKS

The criteria for fiction books is the same as that for non-fiction book reviews; that it deals with a subject within the Early Modern period, roughly from the Renaissance (the middle of the fifteenth century) through to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and that the book is still in print.

John Croxon

Douglas Galbraith, *The Rising Sun* (London: Picador, 2000)

I decided to re-read this epic novel after being disappointed by Alistair Beaton's play, *Caledonia*, at the Edinburgh International Festival. (See *EMS Bulletin*, Vol. 16) Douglas Galbraith takes on the tragic story of Darien with a strong story-telling drive and is a sympathetic narrator.

Our guide through late-seventeenth century Edinburgh and the Isthmus of Panama is a clerk called Roderick Mackenzie who leaves his apprenticeship to a wine merchant to seek his fortune with the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies. Mackenzie seeks to escape a national financial depression and the Company is the only game in town. The Company's goals are simple: to establish a colony at the Isthmus of Panama, build a trade route connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and thereby dominate New World trade. Scotland, ravaged by famine and poverty, needs the riches such a mission will bring and the Company's subscription books are soon filled.

Mackenzie is in charge of provisioning the colony and soon becomes one of the most powerful people in Edinburgh. Papers with his signature are used as currency throughout the 'Toun' and the Company's warehouses in Leith are soon full of goods for the colonists and for trade. Mackenzie occasionally questions the types and quantities of the goods but the Company and its cronies are happy with their profits. Mackenzie is impressed by William Paterson the founder of the Bank of England and the guiding light behind the Darien scheme. Several other Company officials confide in Mackenzie and he is confident that the colony will be successful. Scotland, meanwhile, is full of hope about the enterprise. Mackenzie's job is of the Old World but he manages to get a coveted place on a Darien bound ship, *The Rising Sun*, from which he manages the Company's colonial accounts and keeps an informal record of the unfolding tragedy.

The Darien colony is doomed from its start. Both England and Spain refuse to trade with the Scots and go on record to say so. The location is poor and the colonists soon begin to succumb to tropical diseases. The work on the road to connect the oceans is difficult and progress is slow. Paterson's wife dies soon after the colonists land and he sinks into a depression which renders him unable to inspire the actions needed for success. His failure to provide leadership results in the colonists splitting into factions. One group continues to work on the road while another decides building a fort is more important. This puts Mackenzie in a difficult position: which group should have primary access to tools and provisions? The religious leaders, meanwhile, find themselves increasingly isolated. One of them, however, 'goes native' and joins a local tribe. Even the successful killing of a whale for food and oil goes wrong when

no one takes charge of the giant corpse on the shore: it rots and this is a symbol of the colony itself.

Galbraith's achievement in telling Mackenzie's tale is an impressive look at international events on a personal level. While foreign powers ensure the ultimate failure of Darien, the colonists are already destroying any chance they have of success through waste, in-fighting, and failure to control the diseases that are decimating the colony. While most of the history is accurate, Galbraith has made some changes. As this is a historical novel and a fictionalised account, this is not problematic. The Darien story is a complex event in Scotland's history and its legacy is evident even now in the twenty-first century. Part of the fallout from the colonial attempt was the complete bankrupting of Scotland and the resulting Union of 1707.

Even with the novel's historical faults,² Galbraith's story has more than enough to offer interested readers who will certainly want to find out more about what really happened and how this pivotal event shaped Scotland.

KAREN BASTON

James Robertson, *Joseph Knight* (London: Fourth Estate, 2004)

*Whit kind o country is this that ye can come and tak a man back intae
bondage, awa frae his family, even awa frae Scotland if Sir John
Wedderburn wants tae send him back tae Jamaica?*

This is without doubt one of the best books I've read this year. It came to my attention when the legal case of *Knight v Wedderburn* was mentioned in a television programme. This took me to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*³ where I found that the article on the one-time slave Joseph Knight had been written by none other than my PhD supervisor, John Cairns, and that he recommended this novel in

² See e.g. some criticisms by Christopher Harvie at <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/reviews/masters-of-gallantry-and-gore-625710.html>. There was in fact a real Roderick Mackenzie who was involved in the Darien adventure but he never left Edinburgh. I would also add that *The Rising Sun* itself was a relief ship for the colony and was not one of the ships involved in the original settlement.

³ Which does not contain an entry for John Wedderburn.

the entry. I'm very pleased that he did (and that I've since had a chance to discuss some of the issues raised in the book with him)!

Most of Robertson's novel takes place in flashback form. At the turn of the nineteenth century, one of Wedderburn's daughters is intrigued by a smudged out section on a portrait of one of her uncles who died at Jamaica. Meanwhile Wedderburn has hired an investigator to find out what happened to his former slave who disappeared from view after his celebrated legal victory.

Joseph Knight is really about two main characters. John Wedderburn is a Jacobite who rides out with the '45 with his father and ends up exiled in Jamaica as a result. He is joined by his brothers there and they set up successful plantations while also practicing as physicians. Although they at first disapprove of slavery, they soon learn that owning slaves is essential for their industry. Wedderburn's brother, Robert, takes things further and has several children with his slaves but John dreams of returning to Scotland and starting his family there when he has the wealth to make this possible. Since the family estate has been forfeited, Wedderburn needs enough money to buy a new one. The brothers find they have talents for plantation management but things do not always go smoothly and the Wedderburn plantations experience slave rebellions. Robertson neatly shows the parallels between the great rebellion in Scotland and the micro-rebellion on the plantation: his character fails to see the similarities but they are clear to the reader and the comparison is well delivered. By the late 1760's, Wedderburn is ready to return to Scotland to set up house as a country gentleman. Also by then he has acquired a slave who becomes a favourite and who is granted special privileges.

When we meet Joseph Knight he is a teenage boy on a ship lately arrived in Jamaica from West Africa in the mid-1760s and he is for sale. Wedderburn immediately takes a shine to him and, although he is on the ship to buy slaves to work on his plantation's fields, he buys Joseph to serve as a house slave. Joseph has already charmed the captain of the slave trading ship: his surname is also the captain's. Knight becomes Wedderburn's personal servant. He is intelligent and he soon learns not only his household tasks but also how to read and write. He becomes indispensable to Wedderburn who brings him to Scotland when he returns in 1768.

Wedderburn marries well and buys an estate at Ballindean in Perthshire. He sets up his establishment and Knight is very much a part of it. Knight continues to serve as Wedderburn's personal servant and this seems fine for a while. But differences between Knight's condition and the place of the other household servants start to bother him. Why are they paid salaries when he only gets 'pocket money'? Why is it that when he falls in love with a fellow servant called Ann Thomson that they are not allowed to marry even though Knight is a baptised Christian and Ann is pregnant? Why does Ann then lose her job? Knight thinks he may have found the answer to his problems when he reads about an English legal case where a slave called James Somerset was set free in 1772 since slavery could not exist on English soil. He and Ann put their faith in this case and Knight leaves Wedderburn's service without permission. Wedderburn has him arrested but, with the help of sympathetic members of the legal establishment, Knight finds representation for the legal case in which he needs to prove his right to freedom.

The case attracts attention in Edinburgh and beyond. James Boswell and his friend Samuel Johnson discuss the matter with Scotland's enlightened elite and give advice. (There are some great bits where the Edinburgh intelligentsia talk behind Boswell's back about how he is Johnson's toady.) Enlightened Edinburgh taverns and drawing rooms are alive with debates about the rights of man, the laws of nature, and the condition of slavery.

The dramatic courtroom scenes in this novel really sparkle. They are like being transported back in time and Robertson's use of original sources is evident and skilled. All the leading lights of Edinburgh's enlightenment legal establishment⁴ are present but the result of the case is not a foregone conclusion. Some of the judges are ambivalent about Knight's rights as a slave, others are anti-slavery in principle, while some think that Knight should retain his status as a slave (despite the condition of slavery not existing in Scots law). The anti-slavery judges, including Boswell's father, Alexander Boswell, Lord Auchinleck, and Henry Home, Lord Kames, eventually prevail and award Joseph Knight his freedom.

⁴ With the exception, to my extreme disappointment, of James Erskine, Lord Alva, who didn't turn up because he was indisposed. That said, he was once Sheriff of Perth so did he have a connection with Wedderburn? An intriguing thought...but I digress....

Robertson is a great storyteller. Although most of his book conforms to the historical record, Robertson was forced to come up with an ending for Knight's story since we don't know what happened to him after the trial. Robertson's solution is realistic. Might he and Ann have found peace in a mining town among people who had donated funds to help with his legal costs? Despite the novel's title, Knight remains something of an enigma and this seems appropriate for a person living in multiple worlds.

You can read a sample of *Joseph Knight* at:

<http://www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk/corpus/search/document.php?documentid=520>

KAREN BASTON

THE WINTER QUIZ

1. What was the abbot of Abingdon involved in 1490?
2. What did Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, call himself in 1502?
3. Who did Tudor spies try to murder in 1515?
4. What did Martin Luther publicly burn on the 10th December 1520?
5. What happened to Henry Joyes, vicar of Chipping Norton in 1549?
6. Which French ambassador to the court of Henry VIII died in at Melun in France on the 2nd December 1560?
7. Which Yorkist claimant to the throne died at the battle of Pavia 25th February 1525?
8. Which playwright was jailed in the Maralsea prison for “Leude and mutinous behaviour” in 1597 following the production of the play *The Isle of Dogs*?
9. Which playwright died of the plague in London in August 1625?
10. Which antiquary and writer was born at Easton Piers in Wiltshire on the 12th March 1626?
11. Which playwright wrote ‘The Sparagus Garden’ in 1635?
12. Which king was buried privately at midnight on the 12th April 1702 in Westminster Abbey?
13. Which traveller and writer was born at Kinnaird on the 14th December 1730?
14. Which composer was born in Austria on the 31st March 1732?
15. Which composer wrote ‘Don Giovanni’ in 1787?
16. Which composer was born in Austria on the 31st January 1797?
17. Who painted the portrait of Elizabeth Farren in 1790?
18. Which pottery designer and manufacturer died on the 3rd January 1795?
19. What did Napoleon escape from in Paris on the 24th December 1800?
20. Which geographer and cartographer was born on the 28th December 1804?

Answers on the following page

ANSWERS TO THE WINTER QUIZ

1. A plot to rescue the earl of Warwick from the Tower of London
2. 'The White Rose'
3. Richard de la Pole
4. The Papal Bull that excommunicated him
5. He was hanged in chains from the church tower following the Prayer Book Rebellion
6. Charles de Marillac, Archbishop of Vienna
7. Richard de la Pole
8. Ben Jonson
9. John Fletcher
10. John Aubrey
11. Richard Brome
12. William III
13. James Bruce
14. Franz Joseph Haydn
15. Mozart
16. Franz Schubert
17. Thomas Lawrence
18. Josiah Wedgwood
19. A royalist bomb plot on his carriage as he went to the Paris Opera
20. Alexander Keith Johnston

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